

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA  
AND  
THE WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE  
UNITED STATES

OBJECT:

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold:

1. That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.
2. That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
3. That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
4. That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
5. That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
6. That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privilege.
7. That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
8. THE COMPANION PARTIES OF SOCIALISM, therefore, enter the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and call upon all members of the working class of these countries to support these principles to the end that a termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.  
*Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrollment in the Party should apply for Application for Membership from the sec'y of nearest local or the Nat'l Hdqtrs.*

These six parties adhere to the same Socialist Principles:

- SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA — P. O. Box 1440, Melbourne, Australia;  
Sydney, Australia, Box 2291, GPO.  
SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA — P. O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.  
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN — 52 Clapham High St., London SW. 4.  
SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND — P. O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand;  
P. O. Box 1929, Auckland, New Zealand.  
WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND—53 High St., Room 5, Belfast 1, No. Ireland  
WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF U. S.—11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, Mass. 02109.

The  
WESTERN  
SOCIALIST

JOURNAL OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

PRICE

15¢

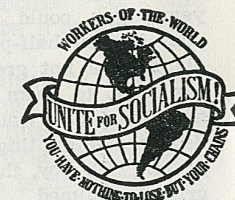
No. 2-1966  
Vol. 33—No. 250  
BOSTON, MASS.



Where Has My Money Gone?

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- GEN. MOTORS "CAPITULATES" (1937)
- "GOD IS DEAD"

FOR A WORLD WITHOUT WAR, WE MUST  
CHANGE FROM A SYSTEM OF COMPETITION TO  
A SYSTEM OF COOPERATION — SOCIALISM.



# FROM OUR MAIL BAG

Dear Fellow Workers:

The quote from Marx on "The Puritans and the Indians," in the latest issue of *The Western Socialist* reminded me of a story my father told me many years ago:

It seems that when the Pilgrims landed in Plymouth, the native Indians were very friendly and offered all the assistance and advice that could be helpful. They taught the Pilgrims how to grow corn and store it. They showed the Pilgrims how to cope with the hardships of starving and freezing.

In gratitude for all the Indians had done for them, the Pilgrims invited them to a Thanksgiving feast to show their appreciation.

Later, the Pilgrims called for a powwow with the Indians. They had a proposition for them. They were going to build a factory to supply the growing number of newcomers to these shores with much-needed shoes. "We would like you to work for us in this factory. In this way, we could reward you for all your past generosities. Without you and your cooperation, we could not have become adjusted to this climate and wilderness. It is now our turn to help you."

They explained to the Indians that they would be paid wages. "What are wages?" asked the chief spokesman for the Indians. He was told that they would be paid two shillings per week for their work. After they had learned the trade, they would get four shillings and eventually might even get six shillings weekly. Some of you might become "bosses" and get ten shillings weekly.

"But supposing some of us became dissatisfied?" "In that case," he was told, "you would organize a union. Eventually, you would gain fringe benefits, such as health and welfare payments and retirement pensions. Stop to think, after working 30 years, you could retire for the rest of your life on half-pay." Somehow, the Indians were not greatly impressed. It was explained to them how wonderful retirement pensions would be. They could go fishing and hunting whenever they wanted to. "Oh boy, that is the life!" the pilgrims exclaimed.

"Is this what you mean by retirement and fringe benefits? Ugh! Ugh! We've got to wait 30 years to go fishing and hunting? You crazy! Man, you crazy!"

Henry Patrick Carr, Boston

## ANSWER TO CORRESPONDENTS

We regret that our answer to a Christian Science critic from Pocatello, Idaho, has been crowded out of this issue. It will appear in W.S. No. 3—1966.

Victoria, Australia:

Dear Comrades:

"...I would like to advance an important suggestion. One year from now will be the Centennial anniversary of publication of Marx' 1st Vol. of "Capital." This event seems to me to call for a special effort—I'm not quite sure how—to present Marxian socialism more vigorously than ever. Perhaps it may make a topic of discussion within the Companion Parties for several months until something tangible emerges..."

For socialism,

C. PETER FUREY

And speaking of anniversaries: This coming July will be the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the World Socialist Party in Detroit, Mich. A special issue to commemorate the event and the early history of our organization is planned. (Ed. Comm.)

## Socialism On Radio

Listen to Local Boston Radio Programs on Saturday evenings, April 9, April 23, May 7 and May 21, from 6:55 to 7:00 P. M. over WCRB—1230 AM or WCRB—102.5 FM.

### OFFICIAL NOTICE

Subscriptions, donations, articles and correspondence for insertion in *The Western Socialist* should be addressed to the World Socialist Party, 11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston Mass. 02109, or Socialist Party of Canada, P. O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES

6 issues	.....	\$1.00
15 issues	.....	\$2.00
Lifetime Sub.	.....	\$15.00
Bundle rates (in lots of 10 or more)		
per issue	.....	10¢ per copy

# The WESTERN SOCIALIST

JOURNAL OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

VOL. 33

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Number 250

EDIT. COMMITTEE VIEWS THE NEWS

## Where Has All My Money Gone?

The New York Post has been running a series of articles in its *Daily Magazine* under the general heading "WHERE DOES YOUR MONEY GO?" In the edition of March 11, 1966 we read the following:

"The Budget Standard Service of the Community Council of Greater New York estimated in 1964 that a family of four could maintain a 'modest but adequate' standard of living on a gross income of \$6625.00 or a take-home pay of \$110.69 a week. A spokesman for the service said recently the 1965 estimate would probably be about \$200.00 more, based on rising costs."

There follows a breakdown of the costs of the various items that are supposed to make up this "modest but adequate" budget for a family

3% earn from	.....	\$46.00 to \$49.00 a week
13% earn from	.....	\$50.00 to \$60.00 a week
21% earn from	.....	\$60.00 to \$70.00 a week ..
22% earn from	.....	\$70.00 to \$80.00 a week
17% earn from	.....	\$80.00 to \$90.00 a week
9½% earn from	.....	\$90.00 to 100.00 a week
14½% earn more than	.....	\$100.00 per week.

(Based on *weighted averages*, the annual wage of these workers is \$4525, \$2000 below the "modest but adequate budget.")

Allowing for whatever net increases may have been won by the ILGWU for its shippers in the last three years; allowing for the multitude of unionized workers in New York whose hourly rates and weekly pay run little if any more than those cited; and allowing for the fact that the Government minimum wage law stands at \$1.25 per hour; we cannot help but wonder at the percentage of

consisting of "an employed man, a housewife, a boy of 13 and a girl of 8."

If we translate the gross figure given of \$6825.00 into terms of a forty-hour week we get an hourly rate of \$3.25. Interestingly enough, in an article entitled "The Truth About the ILGWU" ("New Politics," Fall, 1962) in which Gus Tyler defends the Ladies' Garment Workers Union against an attack by Herbert Hill of the NAACP in the previous issue of the same magazine, much lower figures on hourly earnings in one of the most strongly labor-union-controlled industries in New York are given. And figures for Local 60a (a local of the N. Y. Dress Joint Board) show that of the 1220 shipping clerks in this union:

3% earn from	.....	\$46.00 to \$49.00 a week
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21% earn from	.....	\$60.00 to \$70.00 a week ..
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(Based on *weighted averages*, the annual wage of these workers is \$4525, \$2000 below the "modest but adequate budget.")

*New York Post* readers who can benefit from that journal's advice on smart budget practices for the "modest but adequate income."

\* \* \* \*

While on the subject of "modest but adequate" living standards in this richest and most heavenly-blessed land a quick look at President Johnson's home base is in order. The city of San Antonio in South Texas

has a population (according to the latest census figures) of 600,000. In his "Poverty Behind the Cactus Curtain," (*The Progressive*, March 1966), John Rogers tells us that San Antonio has 230,000 "poor people" (those who live below a Government set level of \$3000.00 per year). The city of Laredo — also in South Texas — with a population of about 61,000, has a per capita income of \$937.00 annually and in some rural areas in that great State of Texas, annual per capita earnings reach the staggering (?) heights of \$534.00. (Sort of reminds one of Latin America, or Egypt, or some of those other god-forsaken nations on both sides of the curtains, iron and bamboo).

The interesting thing about Texas poverty is the resistance put up by the local politicians to Government aid. Why should one do anything to upset the applecart when the over-

whelming Mexican-American population of the poverty-stricken areas are "happy" with their lot? It is nice to be able to get maids for \$8.00 per week; field hands for \$5.00 per day; and warehousemen for 40¢ per hour (as Mr. Rogers reveals).

"The one million Mexican-Americans in South Texas need a political voice if they are to benefit from the Federal programs which should be available to the many who need them..." says *The Progressive* writer. With the lack of acumen displayed by liberal writers, generally, Mr. Rogers has learned nothing from the lack of genuine relief to Negro poverty problems despite a plethora of political leaders to represent them on all levels of government. But it would be too much to expect an expose of the real villain—capitalism — from *The Progressive*.

## MORE ON UNCLE SAM & THE INDIANS

Let us not imagine that mistreatment of American Indians by the American capitalist class is all in the past. A report in *The New York Times* (March 13, 1966) tells a sad tale of disgraceful living conditions "enjoyed" by Uncle Sam's "noble Redskin" wards throughout much of what was once their country. The squalor and degradation is almost beyond description but the viciousness of capitalism is no better exemplified than by an incident in which a capitalist enterprise attempted to "come to the rescue" — and incidentally to find a golden opportunity to "mine" an unorganized lode of potential labor-power.

It seems that the BVD company had developed plans to operate a plant on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona. The recently-resigned Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Philleo Nash, shelved the plans, however, when they were met with violent opposition from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The Union officials were un-

able to see how conditions could be improved, generally, by giving a job to an Indian in Arizona while at the same time taking one from a white or "non-white" worker in New York. And Miss Evelyn Dubrow, legislative representative of the ILGWU averred:

"We were very much aware of the poverty on the Indian reservation. But there was every indication, from our experience, that these runaway shops would exploit the Indians. It could really cause heartaches and headaches."

So the Indians in their miserable hovels on the plains, and the millions of white and "non-white" impoverished workers in America's cities and towns, will continue to face hardship in one degree or another and continue to be *exploited* (Miss Dubrow should learn the meaning of the word) whether organized in unions or not. Only the outright abolition of capitalism can end the era in which the working-class is legally robbed (exploited) of the surplus value which it creates.

## CLATTER OF FALLING "MARXISTS"

From Cuba, Algeria, Ghana, Indonesia, and other parts of the so-called socialist world comes the clatter of falling "Marxist" leaders of varying ranks and power. On the third of October, 1965, Fidel Castro delivered a speech at the "Chaplin" theatre in Havana\* in the course of which he read to his audience a letter — purportedly from Ché Guevara, his "beloved" right-hand man — a letter which is supposed to clear up the mystery of Guevara's disappearance into thin air. To the accompaniment of the usual flattery and adulation of Fidel, Ché "explains":

"I formally renounce my position in the National Leadership of the Party, my post as Minister, my rank of Major, and my Cuban citizenship. Nothing legal binds me to Cuba. The only ties are of another nature; those which cannot be broken as appointments can..."

So the "great" man and comrade of Fidel Castro — we are told by Cuba's number one "Marxist" has taken himself off to other lands in order to be able to help bring to fruition other "glorious socialist revolutions." Oh, yes!

\* \* \*

And to make perfectly clear how utterly bankrupt is the Castro image of socialism and communism, Fidel in the same speech tells us:

"We not only aspire to a Communist society, but to a Communist world in which all nations have equal rights. We aspire to a Communist world in which no nation has a veto. And we hope that the Communist world of tomorrow will never present the same picture as the bourgeois world torn by internal disputes. We hope for a free society, of free nations in which all the countries — large and small — have equal rights."

\* Published by the Commission of Revolutionary Orientation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba (new official name of the Castro political party).

A Communist world of nations! Cuban "socialism" and image of a "communism" to come is as phony as the "socialism" of Indonesia which, we understand from the late dispatches, will be continued by the new military dictators; the "scientific socialism" of Ghana under the recently ousted Nkrumah; or the so-called socialism in such vast areas of the world, today. It is all state capitalism and capitalism, by any other name, still smells!

\* \* \*

In the same speech Fidel makes clear just what the Cuban rulers mean by "freedom:"

"...And the right to educate and orient the revolutionary masses, is the irrevocable right of our Party, and we'll be very jealous in our defense of that right. In the Field of ideological material, it will be the Party that will say what must be said. And if we do not agree, do not want to and don't feel like having the differences that divide the socialist camp, divide us, no one will be able to impose any such thing on us! (Applause).

"And all material of a political nature, except that which refers to our enemies, will only be available to the people through our Party when and if our Party deems it necessary." (Applause).

Parties such as the Socialist Workers' Party (Trotskyist) must truly suffer delusions when they can support a Government (Cuba) which makes it impossible for propaganda of their sort and organizations of their sort to exist. And yet, when we examine such nations more closely, they are consistent with Trotskyist attitudes toward a "socialist" society. One-party rule and one-party dissemination of information is good Leninism-Trotskyism.

.....  
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 THE WESTERN SOCIALIST**

## TWO VIEWS ON VIETNAM

### THE LIBERALS

I have been pestered for some time by a considerable number of dew-eyed, hysterical "liberals" and other assorted alleged leftists who insist I should use my "undoubted" talents in aiding them to protest the U. S. position in South Vietnam and oppose the "Hell-for-Leather" straight to damnation policy of the Johnson administration.

I have some difficulty — listening to the utterances of the Administration's official spokesmen — in determining what the Administration, itself, thinks its policy to be.

But let that pass.

The joke to me is that, but a few months ago, these same protesters were just as hysterical in their unbounded support for this same, now nefarious, Johnson in their nightmarish fear of the "trigger-happy" Goldwater, shooting from the hip, escalating the war, defoliating the jungle and maybe nuclear-bombing China, before the Dragon could get a chance to gnash its teeth and expel its poisonous and sulphuric flames.

I told them to go to bed and sleep lightly; that Goldwater would be clobbered and this "free" society saved from the "fascism" of the Arizona millionaire by their "liberal" millionaire from Texas.

Now, when I chide them for bitterly berating the man who, with their support, "saved" them from escalation, defoliation, etc. and ask: "Why did you vote thus?", I am told "we had no choice; it was Johnson or Goldwater." Of course, had the G.O.P. not been so unorganized and so overrun by "rightist" elements, I point out, they might have had a choice of one of the other millionaire saviors of this "free society," Scranton, Rockefeller, or Romney.

I assure my pestiferous acquaintances that I'm not interested; that the U.S. is eminently justified as the leader of the "free" section of the

capitalist world in being in South Vietnam, Thailand, Spain, Turkey, or wherever. If the security of American investments is at stake and we accept the "right" of American interests then those interests, through their government, have the right to be wherever they have the power to be; that, since modern wars stem from capitalism, then it is illogical to uphold capitalism and denounce the fruit thereof.

So, the modern "liberal," futilely shaking his big stick of righteous indignation against the effects, ignores completely the basic cause. And his stick of "righteous indignation" is a forked stick. And he is stuck in it. But doesn't know it. Our job now and henceforth is not to try to dry his tears but to try to abolish his ignorance.

And while U.S. policy seems to be the "freedom" of South Vietnam with properly constituted and suitably supervised elections it might not be amiss to ask: when does this start in Mississippi?

But the upholders and protesters alike miss the whole point of this dispute and the prize involved: Southeast Asia with a consumer market of one hundred million and vast, untouched natural resources.

W. A. (Bill) Pritchard.

### THE NATIONAL INTEREST

"We seek no wider war," President Johnson tells us as the war in Vietnam widens at a rapid pace.

But, he asserts, we must defend "freedom" against "communist aggression." Do words mean anything? What does "our" President mean by "freedom"? On July 4, 1965, we were given a slight insight into the nature of our freedom-loving allies in South Vietnam. On that day the Saigon correspondent of the London *Daily Mirror* interviewed South Vietnam's Premier Nguyen Cao Ky and asked

him who his "heroes" were. His answer: "I have only one, Hitler."

The first of the great "democratic" governments in Vietnam which the U.S. ruling class chose to support was the government of Ngo Dinh Diem. Wilfred Burchett in *Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerilla War* describes some of the activities of that great "humanitarian":

"The government's terror campaign had reached its climax in previous weeks. The Tua Hai regiment had just returned from a big military campaign in which hundreds of peasants in the Tay Ninh region have been massacred. The commanders filmed massacres and tortures and forced people to attend screen shows to terrorize them more completely. The mobile guillotines had been at work... A former resistance cadre, Ut Lep, was guillotined at the Chan Thahn district center. His wife was forced to display the head... while cameramen filmed the scene."

Certainly President Diem and his American allies could point accusing fingers at the atrocities of their enemies. But what can one expect from "Reds"? "We" are supposed to be different.

As time went on and governments in South Vietnam came and went, America continued to protest that she was committed to wage undeclared war against the Viet Cong and North Vietnam in the name of democracy. We want nothing more than the right of the South Vietnamese to choose our own government in free elections, is the continual cry from Washington. Yet Richard B. Russell, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, freely admits that were elections to be held in South Vietnam today, President Ho Chi Minh of Communist North Vietnam would win easily. And former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, referring to the free elections which were supposed to be held in 1956 (in accordance with the resolutions of the Geneva Agreements of 1954) made the following statement in his recently published memoirs:

"I have never talked or corresponded with a single person knowledgeable in Indo-Chinese affairs who did not agree that had

elections been held... possibly 80% of the population would have voted for Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader..."

The administration's claim to be fighting for democracy is clearly nonsense. Yet there is another, more sophisticated argument. This is the familiar line that we, the American people, are fighting not for the freedom of Asian peasants, but for our own "national interests." The "national interest" concept is of course based on the idea that all the inhabitants of a given nation have a common interest. However, America, like all other nations, has a class-divided society. The interests of the capitalist or employing class and the interests of the exploited working class can hardly coincide to form a "national interest." When LBJ urges a partial suspension of labor union activity in industries relating to war-making, it becomes clear just whose interest the "national interest" is.

What then is the real reason for the war in Vietnam? All modern wars have been fought for the economic interests of the rulers, not "democracy." A frank and revealing statement from an official U. S. Navy document was inserted in the Congressional Record, April 5, 1947:

"Realistically, all wars have been for economic reasons. To make them politically palatable, ideological issues have always been invoked.

"Any possible future war will undoubtedly conform to historical precedent."

How does this apply to the Vietnam situation? Vera Micheles Dean, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, in her book *The Nature of the Non-Western World*, illustrates the value of this area to the capitalist class:

"By virtue of its geographic position, Southeast Asia has from time immemorial been a crucially important gateway between the Indian and Pacific Oceans—a gateway coveted by merchants, adventures, and conquerors bent on securing trading posts in its vital transit harbors, and — equally important — bent on obtaining economic and political control over an area rich in natural resources...In modern times, Southeast Asia has in addition become a

prominent producer of such export commodities as tin, oil, rice, sugar, tea, quinine, teakwood, tobacco, and hemp. These strategic and economic factors... explain why control over the area has been of such importance to the Western powers..."

This war is not in the interest of the working people. No war is. The

social forces which cause war are an inexorable part of the economic competition associated with capitalism. For a world without war, we must change from a system of competition to a system of co-operation — socialism.

— M. G.

## NATIONALIZATION—A SHATTERED HOPE

Nationalisation of industries as a political remedy for working class poverty has had a wide and unchallenged circulation for a long time within the International Labor Movement.

Faint echoes of the "advantages" the working class may expect to gain thereby comes from far-off Fabian literature. Louder and more distinctly we heard of the apparent disadvantages of the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in their near-total nationalisation of Russian industries.

This became the bright prospect of the Australian Labor Party and was written into its constitution as "Socialisation (read Nationalisation) of the means of production, distribution and exchange" (our stress). Thereafter in this country working class enthusiasm, leisure time, energy and meagre funds were wasted in (a) demanding nationalisation of industries, (shipping, oil, etc.); (b) resisting the sale of Government assets (airlines, ships, etc.); (c) defending state ownership as being "in the best interests of the nation" and as the fairest employer of the happiest workers.

Time and experience were to dampen down this hopeful anticipation into soggy apathy. Labor Parties of the world now soft peddle on this line. Even Russia, it is reported, is letting in more and more private investment as distinct from State loans. In the meantime, however nationalised industries largely, if not entirely, the work of Conservative Governments, are here to stay and are increasing. And the workers en-

gaged therein now are confronting an old enemy, (private capitalism) with a new face, (state capitalism). The effects, as far as concerns the ruling class, is surely an over-all efficiency or else they wouldn't, in the first place, have permitted nationalisation, nor allow it to continue if unsuitable for their class.

Labor unions when negotiating for improved conditions find this benevolent state employer to be as tough, or even tougher than the earlier form of capitalism from which it has evolved. The Government of Victoria declined to engage in discussion with the unions "with the view of settling leave dispute." So on midnight, (Feb. 8, 1966), a 48-hour strike was launched by 80,000 State employees. The result: "3,000,000 Victorians will be left without trains and trams, with less than half their normal supplies of electricity and gas. Nearly 400,000 workers are likely to suffer direct hardship; industry and commerce will be severely disrupted and every home will be deprived of some of its normal amenities."

The "Age" leader Feb. 9, 1966 continues: "Other workers should not be deceived by the suggestion that if State workers win 4 weeks leave today, everyone else will gain it tomorrow." (Here is where we sit up and take a closer look: this reminds us; it has happened before — Why not again?)

### NOW, THE GUY TELLS US

10th February, 1966. We seek out the reasons why these particular workers want an extra week's annual holiday. Why aren't they satisfied

with affairs as they are? After all they are State employees enjoying all the supposed benefits from such employment. So why strike for long-term leave?

Says Jordan, Sec. T.H.C. Melbourne, "State workers should receive more annual leave than workers in industry generally for 3 main reasons:—

They are: (1) State workers provide essential services to the public; (2) They are required to work irregular hours; (3) They are required to work on week-ends and public holidays.

"While State workers were paid penalty rates, serious staff shortages make it necessary for them to work extremely long hours.

"In the Railway Department, for example, the workers are not allowed to take their annual leave when it is due.

"We say that people called on to work long hours in essential serv-

ices are entitled to extra annual leave compensation."

Thus after 50 years and more of agitation for state capitalism the Trades Hall, through its secretary, now tells us that the State-employed section of the working class is just as hard pressed by "extremely long, and irregular hours of labor" as ever before. And this is due to "shortage of staff"—which of course could easily be remedied by the simple mechanics of raising the hourly rate of wages to compete favorably with outside industry. Such action, however, would bring the Government onto collision course with the Government bond-holders as higher wages eat into available dividends.

Perhaps now the socialist case may be better received by our working class mates.

C. PETER FUREY  
Victoria, Australia

## PLAYBOY AS A PHILOSOPHER

One of the minor miracles of the publishing field in recent years is the meteoric rise of Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* magazine. Hefner's rise from an *Esquire* salesman to the editorship of a popular magazine is a rare modern version of the Horatio Alger story. As one might expect, Hefner has some Algeresque ideas of freedom under capitalism. Before considering these, a few words about the magazine itself are in order.

Like *Esquire*, *Playboy* is a slick magazine in the Luce tradition. It caters to the interest in sex stimulated, yet suppressed, by a repressive society that cannot satisfy human needs. But, it does more than this and herein lies its secret. Besides exploiting the pent-up sexual fantasies arising from the system, it also exploits the prospective management trainee's desire for guidance as to the customs of the refined style of living appurtenant to higher management.

No doubt, one of *Playboys* attractions is its display of female beauty

— as in its famous centerpieces. However, it is far from being just another girlie magazine. It also offers the latest fashion for the well-dressed (and well-paid) man; it offers epicurean recipes, advice on the fine points of etiquette, literature in good taste, the latest thing in sports cars, jazz, etc. In short, *Playboy* tries to offer participation in the enjoyment of living — excellent girls, excellent literature, excellent hi-fi sets, clothes, food, etc. Indeed, one gets the impression that the reader who merely drools over the "playmate of the month" would be regarded as an uncouth slob. It's the style that gives P.B. that extra something. One must be able to handle all of life's luxuries in the right style: to wit, in the style of the urbane, sophisticated gentleman of means or . . . the *playboy*.

Yes, the pages of *Playboy* offer us the delicacies, comforts, and luxuries of gracious living. Yet there is one interesting thing about these items — they are all expensive commodities. Certainly most of the read-

ers of *Playboy* — a large proportion of them college students — cannot afford the items displayed on its pages. And, I cannot resist asking, how many men's girlfriends would make Playmate of the Month? How many drive Jaguar Mark XL's or eat cheese fondue? In reality, the readers do not really *live* like playboys; they merely think like them.

*Playboy* feeds working class lotus eaters with tastes of the privileges of the elite. This leads to an unfortunate identification not only with the privileges of the elite, but also with its values and perspectives.

For a long time now, Hefner has continued a series of articles entitled "The Playboy Philosophy." This "philosophy" is in tune with the magazine as a whole. Of course, much of P.B. is to the good.

P.B. is a teacher of serious involvement in aesthetic experience. Adolescents who originally buy it to get pin-up girls start to read the tales of the great writers of the past. Their eyes stray to serious discussions of education, jazz, and even to consideration of basic assumptions about reality. But it is in this vein, in the role of a philosopher, that P.B. faces the dilemmas of the age.

The P.B. philosophy consists mainly of discussions of the evils of censorship, the archaic laws regulating legal sex, the baleful influence of religious fanatics, etc. It also offers thoughts on political and social philosophy. Here again we see the position of P.B. as a medium for the transmission of the "upper-middle-class" values of organization men on the make. P.B. serves to orientate those educated young men who have ambitions to rise in the business world, especially in advertising and publishing fields.

As befits one who has succeeded in a tough, competitive field, Hefner favors competition:

Free enterprise is the best, most productive economic system because . . . it assures the fullest scope to individual initiative, taking advantage of man's naturally acquisitive and competitive nature. . . . (*Playboy*, December 1963, p. 78). We favor

capitalism . . . because it is consistent with our belief in the individual and his freedom . . . (Ibid.).

But

Property represents power and if power is to rest with the individual in a free society . . . then he must have the right to possess property. (Ibid.)

Now, dear readers of *Playboy*, how much property do you own? Our philosopher tells us that property is power. Yet we free individuals possess only our labor power plus a few items of individual consumption. The means of production are owned by a few. Power does *not* rest with the individual — with the individual worker, at least. Seriously, how much power, freedom, etc., do you have? Are you a playboy? As Hefner puts it:

In class-structured societies, intellectual and cultural interests traditionally have been perpetuated by an elite leisure or ruling class and filtered down thence to the lower classes. (Ibid., p. 76)

Workers of the world, beware the playboy bearing philosophy!

— Jerome

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## IS THIS A SOCIALIST CONCERN?

# INTERNATIONAL MONETARY REFORM

(*The International Socialist Journal*, Rome, Italy, devotes 53 pages of its September-December 1965 issue to a "learned" examination of how "the left MUST make its presence felt with its own ideas and proposals . . . on the general discussion on reforming the international currency system." The object of this study was to formulate what "The left in the West, in the third world and in the socialist countries MUST work out (as) a counter-plan. (My emphases.)

Four distinguished experts were selected to deal with their particular specialty: the franc, the mark, the dollar and the pound sterling. Our comments will be confined to the dollar authority, Marvin E. Rozen, Professor of Economics, Pennsylvania State University, who wrote on the topic: "World Economic Instability and the Dollar."

Professor Rozen pictures the irony of the existing paradox: "mournful diagnoses of fatal illness come from all sides; meanwhile, the sustained and vigorous expansion of world trade sets new records each year." And he notes that "even ordinary citizens express great dissatisfaction with things as they are; the prospects for change are dim. Crises pile atop crises; the system somehow endures."

Disturbing to Rozen is the thought that:

"Tinkering with (the very fragility of existing arrangements) might be dangerous and, in the attempt, worse still, unsuccessful in outcome. Change is hazardous and uncertain. Rivalries, currently quiescent or at a low level of agitation, might erupt explosively. In the jockeying for unilateral advantage, the health of the collectivity might be endangered. The status remains quo because conscious change, though perhaps desirable and necessary, is so potentially disruptive."

Thus speaks one of the spokesmen for "the left," a political thinking mistakenly identified as socialist. There is no left wing or right wing in the revolutionary, political movement to introduce socialism. There are, however, conflicting schools of thought among "leftists" and "rightists" on methods of administering capitalism. These all have, in com-

mon, programs for reforming the system, i. e., restricting themselves to a preservation of capitalism, despite all their lip service to "The Great Society."

It has never occurred to Professor Rozen, seemingly, that a "finely discriminating eye for logic and order" (to use a Rozen phrase) would lead to the scientific conclusion: conscious change by the victims of the system of the social relations of capitalism to the relations of socialism, which have now become the order of the day—the present necessity. Any danger to the "health of the collectivity" would vanish with the removal of the cause of such danger. His interests, rather, are: What are the factors causing instability in the world economy? and, Can and will they be overcome (within capitalism)?

### WHAT CAUSES INSTABILITY?

Rozen has outlined six destabilizing factors in the world economy, the gist of which are:

1. Nations have internal and external goals, which are simultaneously impossible to achieve. The world is a perpetual disequilibrium system. Given time, some slow-working adjustment forces *may cure* external disequilibrium without sacrificing internal balance. Doubts can be recorded about efficacy of continued reliance on slow-acting equilibrating forces and policy miracles to achieve a viable international economy. (My emphasis).

In the inherent intra and international economic conflicts of interest that constitute capitalism, when has there been and when can there be "cures" for the admitted "perpetual disequilibrium system"? Why this speculation on "doubtful cures"?

No wonder Rozen warns us that "on issues which involve such great uncertainties, one can never be dogmatic." In the views of such pundits, the Marxian Law of Value has become outdated and dogmatic in spite of its corroboration, as a process, by unfolding developments. Capitalism can aptly be described, in Marx's words, as a system of irreconcilable contradictions. And if this be dogmatic make the most of it!

2. The vulnerability of the world's payment system to speculative attack and period crises of *confidence*. Sudden liquidity crises, because they threaten to bring down the entire payments system and thus create chaos, bring out instincts for self-preservation in which survival of each is possible through mutual accommodation. In conducting *psychological* warfare against speculators, elements of credibility are important and the maintenance of cooperation is essential. (My emphases.)

The same old confidence game! Economic difficulties are really psychologically-caused. How reminiscent of "comrades" Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt. All that is needed, according to this school of "thought" is that the lions and the lambs should lie down together in mutual accommodations of trust and cooperation. Then presto! Crises and chaos vanish. Need more be said about the economic "wisdom" of these "experts" of the left?

3. The problems of the world economy are not merely technical ones of adequately functioning economic national rivalries. Struggles for markets and spheres of influence have not suddenly become ancient relics in a contemporary world of sweetness and light. Until recently, the weakened postwar position of Western Europe, fears of Soviet expansion and extreme reliance on American strength subdue traditional rivalries. Rivalry has re-emerged in a new and more restrained form.

Capitalism is a system based on competition and conflicts of interests. Struggles for markets and spheres of influence is really a *stable* characteristic of capitalist society and Rozen, unwittingly, recognizes the truism that rivalries constantly emerge and reemerge despite international

agreements. Instability is intrinsically interwoven into capitalism. Yet he proposes the alternative of an adequate world payments system and a "stable" international economy. No wonder economics is considered to be a "dismal, dry-as-dust science."

4. Unsatisfactory conditions in the developing areas threaten stability, e.g., low rates of economic growth, great income inequality, increasingly sharp class divisions, achievement lagging behind aspiration and need, corrupt and repressive political institutions.

From the latest under-developed entry into the modern world up to its highest development in the United States, capitalism in all countries has the same "unsatisfactory conditions" he listed. One would have to be in hibernation not to see such conditions before his eyes in "affluent" America.

5. The inherent deflationary bias in the international payments system is a potential cause of instability. Surplus countries won't inflate. (Shame on them!) Deficit countries must deflate. (Pity, isn't it!) Even more fundamental, capitalist countries are more vulnerable because of increased layering and complexity of credit. Capitalism has always been a ship built to sail on calm seas and performs reasonably well thereon; but what works wonderfully well in fair weather may function very poorly and break down when exposed to more vigorous conditions.

Rozen apparently distinguishes "capitalist" countries from "socialist" countries by their credit policies. Capitalist countries, he tells us, are "more vulnerable" and break down when exposed to more rigorous conditions. Russian and Chinese economists will be pleased to learn that they need not fear for malfunction or "breakdown" in their economies. All capitalist countries, however, regardless of the label they choose to use, have the same general capitalist characteristics of commodity production and wage labor-capital social relationships. The more they vary, the more they are the same. It would be interesting to examine the "calm seas" that "perform so reasonably

well" for the workers in Rozen's "socialist" countries!

6. Political uncertainty and economic repercussions of this uncertainty is an all-pervasive destabilizing factor. Confidence, it cannot be reaffirmed too often, is an important precondition for world economic stability.

It is strange that Rozen fails to indicate how to eliminate uncertainty as a destabilizing factor. At no time does he state what assurance to even the privileged few that conditions of the market, new processes, competition and a host of circumstances will not find them reduced to the ranks of the working class. As for the working class, it never enters into his calculations. To harp on "destabilizing" factors as though they were independent of the dog-eat-dog nature of the capitalist economy finds him in the sad position of blaming instability on "lack of confidence," in other words, he pleads intellectual bankruptcy. Are we to believe that nervous breakdowns can really be averted by a mere repetition of the Coué formula: "Every day, in every way, I'm getting better and better"? CAN INSTABILITY BE OVERCOME?

Says Rozen:

Opportunities for *bold and daring innovations* (e. g., a world central bank) are unlikely to be seized. Rather the continued evolution of the present system with increases in liquidity is much more likely. Such arrangements should be adequate to deal with problems raised by the prospective surpluses or deficits. Recent strengthening of the dollar suggests deficits *did not reflect a structural fault*. Continued central bank cooperation should provide sufficient liquidity to *avert serious economic crises* merely because of deficits in the payments mechanism itself. Once the world recovers its faith in the dollar (and he lists various schemes to accomplish this), we would not have much cause for worry. *The real danger lies in possible severity of disturbances and interferences with the resiliency and powers of recuperation of the world economy*. Breakdowns may be avoided if nations maintain tolerable levels of full employment and growth internally. I am impressed (says Rozen) by the capacities of human society to en-

sure long and difficult hardship without reaching the breaking point. Will nations be sufficiently unified internally and cooperate externally to create an adequate world payments system and a stable international economy? The ideological position suggested by these questions rather than the technical difficulties in devising reform measures are perhaps the major obstacle toward solving international economic problems. (My emphases.)

To summarize: Rozen proposes that capitalism behave uncapitalistically in order to overcome instability in the *world market*. "Breakdowns may be avoided if nations maintain tolerable levels of full employment and growth internally." And then compounds the deception: "Once the world recovers its *faith* in the dollar, we would not have much cause for worry." He neglects to indicate how such objectives are possible (or desirable) when the internecine world conflicts themselves arise from the paramount DRIVE for profits. Only the speedy introduction of production for use and a sane society can overcome the instability of a capitalist economy.

Over 100 years ago (in 1850) Engels anticipated, in his "The Peasant War in Germany," the role of the present-day Rozens. He pointed out the limitations of a "socialist" leader who does "not represent his own class but the class for whom conditions are ripe. (He is) compelled to defend the interests of an alien class and to feed his own class with phrases and promises, with the assertion that the interests of that alien class are their own interests."

#### SO WHAT?

Is international monetary reform really a concern to socialists? The only task that should concern socialists is the spreading of socialist information. Socialist information includes an *understanding* of the very role of money in world capitalism. Efforts to formulate a left "counter plan" and to make the "left's presence felt" merely reveal that the left is but another of the spokesmen for

capitalism — despite all pretensions on their part to the contrary.

Because of the unavoidable limitations of space, the review of Rozen's theories has been limited to brief comments on his shallow, superficial, conclusions. One can search in vain throughout the 53 pages of "The International Socialist Journal" that are devoted to this study to discover any hint that the commodity society, itself, with its

money relationship, needs be supplanted by socialism, *here and now*.

For two articles that come to grips with the international money problem in clear and understandable terms, we urge that you send 25¢ to "The Western Socialist." Your quarter will bring you issues No. 2 - 1965 with "The Dollar Crisis," and No. 5 - 1965 with "High and Low Finance."

RAB.

## SOCIALISM & BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES

The scientific study of behavior has now been pursued for a hundred years since the time of Marx. Pseudo-scientific polemics make it extremely difficult to assess what has been accomplished, and to what extent the discoveries of behavioral science tend to support Marx's basic approach to human social problems; but as socialists, we can hazard the following early generalizations:

(1) Behavioral science has become divided into three basic areas, or "fields": psychology, sociology, and anthropology. The division should be made purely for the sake of simplifying the process of classification and study, for all three areas have basically the same goal. That goal is the empirical study of the individual and social behavior of human beings (the behavior of animals is usually studied insofar as it can be made relevant to human behavior), with a view to understanding, predicting, directing, and controlling that behavior.

The assumption of "control" means that, like Marx, the modern social scientist has already conceded the possibility of changing our "human natures" to suit ourselves, and although the "control" of human behavior in the interests of a property society will not enter into the thinking of scientists when property society has vanished, this is still an important concession.

(2) Behavioral science is historically new. Because of the complexity of its subject matter, the ability

of the scientist to accurately predict behavior still does not even approach the ability of, say, a chemist to predict the results of a test-tube reaction. But psychologists have been able to make limited predictions in carefully regulated situations with individuals or small groups, and have uncovered methods by which masses of people can be made to want to do a certain thing at a certain time; but the sociologists and the anthropologists are still mostly in the stage of gathering and classifying data. (Marx is an example of the genius who can skip many of the tedious steps between natural observation and prediction, and whose brilliant predictions often turn out to be right; but the less gifted, more ordinary scientist, in the interests of accuracy, must plod along after and fill in the missing steps.)

(3) What has so far been accomplished tends to support the chief arguments of the intelligently-argued socialist case. A word must be said about the kind of sociology whose *raison d'être* is to destroy Marx's reputation by creating a false image of an affluent, "multi-class society where revolutions are unnecessary and unthinkable. These specious conclusions are not what we mean by the accomplishment of behavioral science. We have devoted space toward criticising pseudo-sociology in the past, but the shortness of the present article requires that we confine ourselves to a single illustration from the science of psychology.

### HUMAN BEHAVIOR VARIABLE

Perhaps the most important single example of the kind of support the socialist can hope to receive from the behavioral sciences is this fundamental, proven discovery. *Human behavior is variable*. There is no such thing as a fixed, constant human nature which will inevitably defeat all of man's attempts to co-operate for the benefit of all. Contrary to the accusations of his critics, the socialist does not have to assume that "people are good," or that "human nature is noble," in order to achieve his goal of a classless, co-operative society. What he has assumed, since the foundation of socialism as a science, is what the behavioral sciences, particularly psychology, have now confirmed: that human behavior is variable, and that it can be predicted, altered, even controlled. The time-honored argument that socialism is impossible because "human nature"—or, rather, human behavior—never changes, is now exploded scientifically in capitalist-sponsored institutions of learning.

The "human nature" advocate assumes that people naturally behave selfishly, greedily, brutally, and competitively, and that if they were to be put in the setting of a socialist society their selfishness, greed, brutality, and competition would quickly send them back to the jungle. Scientifically examined, the argument is shown to be groundless. "Selfishness" and "brutality" are examples of what the psychologist calls *operant behavior*; that is, behavior which acts on the environment. If we got what we want from our environment (capitalist society, in this case) by acting selfishly or brutally, our behavior is said to be *reinforced*. We are more likely to act this way in the future. If "selfishness" and "brutality" continue to be reinforced over and over, they become *conditioned*; that is, whenever we find ourselves in a situation where behaving selfishly and brutally has gotten results in the past, we will display these behavior patterns almost automatically; so

automatically that they will seem to be "personality" traits; they will seem to be part of "human nature." They will, technically speaking, have become *conditioned responses*.

### UNCONDITIONING "SELFISHNESS"

But there is another side to the coin. It has also been proven that conditioned responses can be extinguished simply by consistent failure to reinforce them. If a pigeon, for example, discovers that it can no longer get food by flying to a certain bird-feed, after a while it will stop flying to the bird-feed. Similarly, if a man discovers that he no longer gets what he wants by brutality and selfishness — if these responses are not reinforced — the undesirable behavior is soon extinguished.

Our point, basically, is this: capitalist society works against the interests of the human race by reinforcing and conditioning responses which are no longer, in mid-twentieth century, agents of progress or survival—destructive, brutal, competitive, aggressive, and selfish responses. The soldier, for example, is conditioned to shoot people by the reinforcements of praise, medals, social approval, and deliberately-instilled hate-fulfillment. The gangster and the capitalist are conditioned to hypocrisy, aggressiveness, and the thirst for power by the generalized reinforcers of money and submissive-ness on the part of their victims. A socialist society, with its absence of money and classes and its free access, on demand of its members, to the goods which they produce, would not reinforce such behavior. Therefore, as has been proven in numerous experiments with conditioning, we can expect that when selfishness, greediness, brutality, etc. are no longer needed to get what we want, then we will stop evincing these responses. There is nothing optimistic or utopian or unrealistic in such expectation; it is a simple empirical prediction, based on the result of psychology experiments, not to mention good common "horse sense."



A socialist society would reward, or reinforce, the responses of co-operation, useful work, and non-violent, non-punitive behavior in a number of ways: by the satisfaction of basic needs (food, clothing, etc.) by the increased opportunity for the exercise of individual creativity and taste, by variety of tasks, by social approval, and by the general sense of security which results in an atmosphere where one man's livelihood and self-respect does not depend on another man's benevolence. Co-operation and non-violence would thus become conditioned; that is, they

would become the prevailing pattern of "human nature," although probably people would no longer ascribe their behavior to some nebulous concept of inherent human nature.

The socialist has good reason to be interested in what is going on in behavioral science today. He no longer will have to rely only upon Marx's materialistic conception of history to hold his case together. He can now appeal to an established set of facts, presented by (generally) non-Marxist behavioral scientists.

— Stan Blake

## GEMS FROM AMERICAN HISTORY

### GENERAL MOTORS CAPITULATES (1937)

In the annals of the class struggle in the United States the years 1933-1937 stand out. In an in-depth article on the "Industrial War" then raging in America, "Fortune Magazine" for November, 1937, minced no words: "...the United States," it told its largely elite readers, "has been in the throes of a major labor upheaval, which can fairly be described as one of the greatest mass movements in our history." And certainly when we contemplate the 10,000 strikes between May of 1933 and July of 1937 that (according to "Fortune") were accompanied by "...bloodshed, high strategy, tear gas, picket lines, and vigilantes..." the estimate by the Henry Luce publication was not extravagant.

Why the outpouring of a more-than-usual activity in the industrial theatre of the class war? The "Fortune" analysis estimated that over one half of all of these strikes were fought over the right to bargain collectively. Prior to the New Deal era no more than 18 percent of non-agricultural labor in the United States was organized as against 35 percent in Britain and 70 percent in Sweden.\* For the greater part of the New Deal Administrations, Organized Labor in the United States became front page news and "great"

or "notorious" leaders (depending upon one's outlook) such as President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Hopkins (WPA), John L. Lewis (CIO), Homer Martin (United Auto Workers), Tom Girdler (Republic "Little" Steel), and William S. Knudsen (General Motors) trod the boards of the American theatre in a mighty drama that was, indeed, worthy of a Shakespeare.

But we will waste no space on an analysis of the leadership of the period. Not that we consider individuals as unimportant. They certainly do play an important role. Their significance, however, is relevant only within the framework of the times. They do not create the conditions which make them prominent, it is, rather, the other way around. And so we find it more practical to examine the warfare in question with little, if any, reference to the leadership. Our present scope, however, must be confined to one particular and unusual type of strike, the "sitdown" and one "sitdown"

\* According to "The New York Times" (12-19-65), the percentage in 1950 was 31.5 and in 1964 had declined to 28.9 percent due to a rise in the ratio of white-collar jobs in recent years and the traditional difficulty in organizing this type of labor.

strike in particular, the spectacular battle for Union recognition between the then recently organized United Auto Workers of America and General Motors.

There are various theories of the origin of the "sitdown" strike. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) are reputed to have organized what were termed "folded arm" strikes as early as 1907 and there were outbreaks of a similar nature in subsequent years throughout Europe.

The first of the "sitdown" strikes of modern America are said to have been those which erupted suddenly in 1934 in the Rubber Industry in Akron, Ohio. These were generally "quickies" and usually ended in victory for the men. In the succeeding years of C. I. O. organization among unskilled workers these "sitdown," or stay-in strikes spread like wild-fire and relative handfuls of working people were able to bring mighty industries to a complete standstill simply by sitting or lying about rather than working and, when necessary, staying on for days and nights.

Unions generally, however, did not approve of such methods since they could be instituted suddenly and without guidance or direction by the union. Since labor unions have become common throughout big American industry there have been few, if any, sitdown strikes.

#### UAW vs GM

Taking things for granted is an easy habit to fall into. A large part of the membership of the UAW, we understand, are of the impression that the present relatively good pay and working conditions within the auto industry (relative to a generation ago) were simply granted by the companies. It is possible that a large percentage, if not the majority, of those who work in the industry do not know of the desperate struggle on the part of the companies to prevent Union recognition and the steadily improving conditions that

generally accompany it.\*\* General Motors, for example, spent (according to the LaFollette Senate Investigating Committee) some \$839,000 in two and one half years on detective services to break the Union in its early, formative stages. A Lansing (Michigan) Local, it was disclosed, had five members, all officers and all stool pigeons provided by a spy agency hired by the Company. In those times it was not at all unusual that a worker would be discharged simply for showing up to work with a union button openly displayed.

On December 30, 1936, workers in the Flint plant of Fisher Body I began a sitdown strike thus precipitating a series of battles that kept the Union and General Motors on the front pages of the nation's dailies for much of the following two and a half months. The sitdown in Fisher 1 was quickly followed by a sitdown in Fisher 2 and the management of General Motors went to work to throw a fright into the population of Flint, one third of which worked for the Company. The threat of imminent closing down was held high and a "citizens' committee" was organized for the purpose of instituting a "back to work" movement.

But the workers in the plants continued with their sitdowns, supported by hundreds of their fellows who massed on the outside and who kept a supply of food going in for the sitters. And as of January 11, the authorities, despite an injunction from the court and a sheriff's order to evict, took no action in carrying out the order. Various reasons have been given for the failure of General Motors to demand that the forces of "law and order" carry out their sworn duties but the following paragraphs from a front page story in "The New York Times" for that date perhaps sums up the reasons adequately:

"The Company believes that the courts at Flint should see that its property rights are upheld. It also feels that as long as

\*\* See WS No. 5 - 1964, for a chapter in the war between Ford and the workers.

even the slimmest hope of a settlement exists it would be unfortunate if it did anything that might precipitate violence, and unquestionably violence would result if the police or National Guard attempted to eject the sitdowners forcibly.

"Moreover, a 'do nothing' policy by the Company appears logical as long as the glass shortage due to the current strike of the glassmakers continues. If it cannot get glass for windshields and windows, or cannot get any particular parts, it is of no use to try to make engines or bodies or other parts, on a normal production basis."

There was also the fact that the Governor of the State, Frank Murphy, seemed inclined toward tolerance as was the Federal Government. After all, notwithstanding the attitude of some alarmists, this was no revolution; property was not being destroyed even if it was technically being violated by "trespassers"; and the policy of the Federal Government was one of encouragement to union organization, a considerable portion of its support and strength coming from that source.

But that same day, January 11, the workers in one of the plants moved suddenly to take possession of the entire building, ejecting the Company guards. The action was taken, according to some reports, because of the cutting off of heat by the Company and an attempt to make the delivery of food to the sitdowners more difficult. Whatever the reasons, there followed five hours of hand-to-hand fighting between Union workers outside the plant and city police. The January 12 issue of "The New York Times" had front page headlines reading like this:

"24 Hurt in Flint Strike Riot; Police Battle Street Mobs; Governor Rushes to Scene; Militia Mobilized; Troops Ready As Auto Strikers in Plant Repel Gas Attack; Both Sides Have Dug In; Workers Tear Up Paving for Missiles And Drive Police Back With Fire Hose; Plant Guards Overcome."

In the report by "The New York Times" there was speculation that some of the workers were armed with guns and used them. "Fortune

Magazine," however, in the article referred to above, states flatly that the police fired into the crowd. The Flint police force became decidedly unpopular, seemingly, with the company as well as the residents and their services were dispensed with on that occasion by General Motors.

Shortly thereafter, a "truce" was signed at Lansing in which the Union agreed to evacuate the plants while negotiations for a contract were underway. But not long after the sitdowners had left the plants the Company was accused of violating the terms of the agreement and a group of workers, through a maneuver that became known as the "Reuther feint" took possession of Chevrolet Number 4. Suspecting that some of the members of their Local were Company stooges the Local announced at a meeting that they would seize Plant 9. As expected, the information was relayed to the management who threw all available guards around Plant 9 thus making it possible for the Reuther-led group to enter the unprotected Plant 1 and occupy it.

Final agreement and Union recognition by General Motors came on March 12.

#### WHAT PRICE "VICTORY"?

So the automobile workers have lived happily ever after. Or have they? It is interesting, indeed, to study the development of the UAW since its initial great victories. Because the Union now led by Walter Reuther\*\*\* has a reputation quite unlike that of many other unions such as, for example, the Teamsters Union,

\*\*\*Both Pres. George Meany, AFL-CIO and Pres. Walter Reuther, UAW, were quoted in the press as critical of the Transit Workers' strike. Pres. E. Swayback, Local 1, Amalgamated Lithographers went a step further by calling the strike "Sabotage" and threatened to sue the TWU for any wages lost by the members of his union, (N.Y. Times, 1/3/66.) Walter Reuther, in the intervening years, has evolved — normally — into a "labor statesman."

it serves as an excellent confirmation of the socialist case. There are no charges of "gangster control" or looting of Union funds levelled at the UAW leadership. Nor can the UAW be accused of practicing discrimination against Negro workers since about 15 percent of its own employees are Negroes and it is said to have more Negroes in staff positions than all major unions combined. Certainly no union in America has done more for its members than has the UAW. Yet a thoroughgoing study of this "model" union by Harvey Swados in "Dissent" (Autumn, 1963) shows that, despite generally improved conditions and earnings, the auto workers are more insecure than ever (because of rapid introduction of automated techniques in the industry); hate or are bored by their jobs in an industry which, more and more, turns them into appendages of the machine; and are faced with problems, such as work standards, that were once a major area of union activity in the protection of its *members* but which have now become a major area of union protection of *weaker companies* in the Industry. Individual locals may become aggravated by tightened work standards and speed-ups to the point of a strike vote but the strike will not be sanctioned by headquarters and the days of the "quickie," "wild-cat" strikes are generally over. The very strength of the unions — built over the years — guards against the unauthorized strikes by its members as well as against encroachments by the employers.

The difficulty, according to Harvey Swados and the UAW alike, lies in the fact that General Motors absolutely dominates the auto industry. "If," says Mr. Swados, "in 1962, the total profits of the Big Three, after taxes, came to a little over two billion dollars, nearly one and a half billion of those dollars were earned by General Motors." General Motors is so big, in fact, that according to the UAW newspaper "Solidarity":

"The money General Motors took in from sales in 1962 was equivalent to the total expenditures of these major states put together: California, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Massachusetts, New York and Ohio."

And the article goes on from these statistics to develop the point. The fact of General Motors domination compels the Union to play ball with the smaller companies in various ways, even to the point of injury to its own membership in order to help the smaller fry continue to produce vehicles and parts and thereby provide jobs for union dues payers.

But this is all due to a social system — capitalism — developing normally. Does the solution really lie in the UAW "taking on" General Motors? And in young men and women with radical ideas and old fashioned militancy working to bring unions back to their "vanguard" days? The Dissent writer believes it does but we dissent. When workers, generally, realize that union activity — necessary as it is — does not slow the intensity of exploitation but actually quickens it by forcing the employers to introduce still newer techniques or close their shops because of the mad, competitive jungle of capitalism, the awakened workers will certainly take immediate steps to abolish capitalism forthwith. Would unions — even unions with "socialist" or "progressive" leaders — be of help in making their members aware of the nature of capitalism? Hardly, since the unions, themselves, have grown from "rags to riches" and have a decided stake in the preservation of capitalism — a fact noted, even if only in passing, by Harvey Swados in his treatise on the UAW. We would think, then, that the task of enlightened young men and women is to help to speed the process by transferring their own enlightenment to as many of their fellow-workers as they possibly can. The marvelous techniques of production such as those introduced by General Motors can, under a sane system of production for use, be made to work

for the benefit of all mankind, a system in which the very need of organizations to battle for wages and

working conditions will have vanished — Socialism.

HARMO

## A PAGE FOR MARX

"This primitive accumulation plays in Political Economy about the same part as original sin in theology. Adam bit the apple, and thereupon sin fell on the human race. Its origin is supposed to be explained when it is told as an anecdote of the past. In times long gone by there were two sorts of people; one, the diligent, intelligent, and, above all, frugal elite; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more, in riotous living. The legend of theological original sin tells us certainly how man came to be condemned to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; but the history of economic original sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is by no means essential. Never mind! Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skins. And from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority that, despite all its labour, has up to now nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work. Such insipid childishness is every day preached to us in the defence of property. M. Thiers, e.g., had the assurance to repeat it with all the solemnity of a statesman, to the French people, once so *spirituel*. But as soon as the question of property crops up, it becomes a sacred duty to proclaim the intellectual food of the infant as the one thing fit for all ages and for all stages of development. In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force, play the great part. In the tender annals of Political Economy, the idyllic reigns from time immemorial. Right and 'labour' were from all time the sole means of enrichment, the present year of course always excepted. As a matter of fact, the methods of

primitive accumulation are anything but idyllic."

("Capital", Vol. 1, pp 789-90.  
Modern Library ed.)

"The prelude of the revolution that laid the foundation of the capitalist mode of production, was played in the last third of the 15th, and the first decade of the 16th century. A mass of free proletarians was hurled on the labour-market by the breaking-up of the bands of feudal retainers, who, as Sir James Steuart well says, 'everywhere uselessly filled house and castle.' Although the royal power, itself a product of bourgeois development, in its strife after absolute sovereignty forcibly hastened on the dissolution of these bands of retainers, it was by no means the sole cause of it. In insolent conflict with king and parliament, the great feudal lords created an incomparably larger proletariat by the forcible driving of the peasantry from the land, to which the latter had the same feudal right as the lord himself, and by the usurpation of the common lands. The rapid rise of the Flemish wool manufactures, and the corresponding rise in the price of wool in England, gave the direct impulse to these evictions. The old nobility had been devoured by the great feudal wars. The new nobility was the child of its time, for which money was the power of all powers. Transformation of arable land into sheep-walks was, therefore, its cry."

("Capital" Vol. 1, pp. 784-85.  
Modern Library ed.)

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## 'GOD IS DEAD'

The living demonstration that superstitions must retreat as knowledge advances can be seen in the current "God Is Dead" debate within sections of the Protestant clergy. It becomes embarrassing, if not impossible, to rationalize modern physical and chemical sciences with their impact on the growing understanding of the material nature of inorganic and organic existence. (See "Man's Eye View of Evolution," W.S. No. 1-1960.)

The theological maelstrom of the "God is Dead" controversy is centered on Professor Thomas J. J. Altizer of Emory University, Atlanta, Ga. His "Mircea Eliade\* and the Dialectic of the Sacred" was published three years ago to the dismay of his fellow Methodists who have reaffirmed their beliefs "in the living God," and its influence has gained momentum within the last year. His key statement that stirred the debate is:

"We must recognize that the Death of God is a historical event; God has died in our time, in our history, in our existence." He recommended that we should not grieve over God's death but get to work and fulfill Christ's work and words. He concludes that "God is dead when people turn from Him."

(Review of "God Is Dead" Row" by the religious editor of The Boston Globe, 2-12-66)

In a feature article, The New York Times, Jan. 9, 1966, summarizes the view of the "God Is Dead" theologians as: "... the 'God' of the catechism and the philosophical formulations is 'dead,' in the sense that the conventional ecclesiastical and the theological categories that describe Him have become meaningless

\*Professor of history of religions at Chicago Divinity School, Time 3-26-66, describes him as "world's leading authority on ancient mythology and teaches without any theological implications and they (the school) accept it." (Strange to say, he belongs to the Rumanian Orthodox Church.)

to modern men. The God 'up there' somewhere in outer space is 'dead' to the modern believer who would no more look for Him in the wild blue yonder than the first Soviet astronauts did."

Like Engels' "shame-faced materialists" of the 19th century, the Rationalists who gave materialist explanations for all phenomena but metaphysical rationalizations for their uncertainties, "the God Is Dead" clergymen cling to their adherence to a meaningless "religion," freed, as it is alleged, from a belief in a supernatural power, a belief which alone constitutes the very essence of all religions. Remove the "supernatural" and there is *no* religion left.

Thus, the "God Is Dead" theologians have become reduced to speak of a godless "Him." They hold that "an immature concept of Him held on through centuries while mankind moved toward true belief in this world and in human possibility — a movement with still a long way to go." So which is it: a belief in "Him" or in "this world" and in "human possibility"? They are riding two horses going in opposite directions!

By de-emphasizing the "supernatural" characteristics of their mystical, meaningless "Him," they become mere apologists and their 20th century thinking becomes a travesty.

Witness the following serious and undoubtedly sincere ritual presented in liturgical form in an unnamed denominational college which accompanied the "New York Times" article noted above. The reporter commented: "The reaction ranged from tears to a new enthusiasm for theology."

RAB

### "GOD IS DEAD"

Reader:

He was our guide and our stay  
He walked with us beside still waters  
He was our help in ages past

Chorus:

The lengthening shadow grows formless  
The lengthening shadow grows formless

Reader:

Now the day is over  
Night is drawing nigh  
Shadows of the evening steal across the sky

Chorus:

He is gone, He is stolen by darkness  
He is gone, He is stolen by darkness

Reader:

Now we must wonder  
Was He only our dream,  
A dream painted across the sky?

Chorus:

And in the beginning our fear created him  
And in the beginning our fear created him

Reader:

Did we create Him in our image?  
Did we surround Him with hosts because  
We were alone?

Chorus:

Our imaginations rescued us from the deep  
Our imaginations rescued us from the deep

Reader:

Space has stretched beyond Him.  
It is very cold here  
And from time there comes no warmth

Chorus:

The universe is too vast for him  
The universe is too vast for him

Reader:

Beyond the stars, more stars  
Beyond the skies, more skies  
Above our dreams, more dreams

Chorus:

Heaven is empty  
Heaven is empty

Reader:

Only his footsteps remain  
Only stained glass and arched hopes  
Only wasted steeples and useless piety

Chorus:

There is silence along the forest path  
There is silence along the forest path

Reader:

Why is there no dawn?  
Why do our dead only die?  
Why do our living only live?

Chorus:

Your God is Dead  
He died in the darkness of your image  
He died because he grew ill from your  
dreams of salvation  
He died because you held his hand too  
tightly  
God is Dead

### MAY DAY IN BOSTON

Anyone in the Greater Boston area interested in hearing the case for socialism is cordially invited to attend the regular program of the Singles Club of the Arlington Street Church, corner of Arlington St. and Boylston St. (Parish Hall.)  
Time—8 P.M. Sunday, May 1  
Speaker Harry Morrison — Assoc. Editor "The Western Socialist".  
Question period.

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April 15: Talk—THE PARADOXES OF WAR: G. Ellenbogen  
April 22: Film—THE CITY AS MAN'S HOPE  
April 29: Local Meeting (Open to public)  
May 6: Film—YUGOSLAVIA  
May 13: Talk—SOCIALIST SOCIETY: W. Jerome  
May 20: Film—CASTRO  
May 27: Local Meeting (Open to public)

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**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA  
AND  
THE WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE  
UNITED STATES**

**OBJECT:**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole.

**DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES**

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold:

1. — That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.
  2. — That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
  3. — That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
  4. — That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
  5. — That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
  6. — That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privilege.
  7. — That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
  8. — **THE COMPANION PARTIES OF SOCIALISM**, therefore, enter the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and call upon all members of the working class of these countries to support these principles to the end that a termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.
- Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrollment in the Party should apply for Application for Membership from the sec'y of nearest local or the Nat'l Hdqtrs.*

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